

	DIRECTORATE	OF INTELLIGENCE		
	МА	Y 1986	·	
	CENTRAL AMERICAN N	MONTHLY REPORT #34	4	
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This memoran	dum was prepared by vas coordinated with the	the Central America I	North and South	
information available	e as of 31 May 1986. (ed to Chief, Middle Amo	Questions and comm	ents are welcome and	
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PERSPECTIVE	
The Core Four countries—Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica—generally maintained both their unity and the diplomatic initiative in regional meetings during May. By the end of the month, however, there were some signs of differences, particularly in the arms control area that could challenge future solidarity. At the Central American summit in Guatemala the Core Four's emphasis on Nicaragua's need to democratize ruined Sandinista hopes of projecting an image of acceptance. Little progress was made in resolving differences on regional peace issues at the 16–18 May and 27–28 May Contadora meetings in Panama, and the slow pace of arms talks at month's end make it likely that negotiations will drag out not only beyond the 6 June deadline for reaching agreement on a treaty, but probably well into the summer.	25X1
Core Four criticism of Nicaragua's version of democracy caused acrimony at the summit and put the Sandinistas on the defensive, according to US Embassy reports. Costa Rica's President Arias, who took the lead in pressing Nicaragua's Ortega, was supported by the Honduran and Salvadoran leaders, while Guatemala's Cerezo reportedly abstained from the confrontation. Although a draft communique had been jointly approved before the meeting, the democratic leaders agreed to toughen language that had previously tended to favor Nicaragua.	25X1
The Presidents approved Cerezo's Central American parliament initiative, directing a commission to draft a treaty within 90 days. The leaders rescinded a prior agreement that the special elections for the parliament be regulated by national laws—a deletion aimed at Nicaragua—but the Core Four failed in their previously stated intention to propose international supervision for the elections. The Sandinistas undoubtedly will reject a foreign role as interference in their internal affairs—and a dangerous precedent—but we believe they would tolerate observers during the actual balloting, as they did in 1984.	25X1
Both Contadora meetings became deadlocked after Nicaragua and the Core Four introduced their proposals for military maneuvers and arms control, the two issues that the mediators say are still pending. The Sandinista proposals made in mid-May are similar to, but more extreme than, the mediators' draft of last September. They would prohibit foreign maneuvers within 30 days of signature, freeze arms levels upon signature, and delay arms control talkslimited to "offensive" weaponsuntil after signature. Failure to reach agreement would result in suspension of provisions on the arms freeze, manuevers, foreign advisers and basesleaving intact the prohibition against aiding insurgent groups.	25 X 1
The Core Four proposal on maneuvers differs substantially from the mediators' 1985 draft and the democracies probably will come under considerable pressure to compromise. They propose to regulate foreign manuevers only within 30 km. of national borders, compared with Contadora and Nicaraguan plans to proscribe them.	25 X 1
The Core Four may have made an error in strategy in their arms control proposal which centers on reaching agreement on a table of values to establish a base for comparing national military forces. Each nation would choose its own combination of	
3	25X1

of the armed opponents of the regime under one command. Stung by the defection, Pastora withdrew from the conflict and sought asylum in Costa Rica. 25X1 25X1 25X1

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Meanwhile, the UNO leadership—Adolfo Calero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz—spent much of the past month trying to resolve the internal differences that have undermined the group's fragile unity. They apparently have agreed to create a single army under civilian authority and to change the group's decisionmaking process.	25 X 1
	25X1
Although the move probably will improve UNO's international image, Cruz and Robelo are likely to continue chafing at what they consider Calero's	25 X
inordinate influence.	25 X 1
On the domestic front, civic opposition activity increased in May. On May Day, activists from the independent labor unions and democratic political parties in the opposition coalition openly demonstrated against the regime for the first time since the Sandinistas expanded the state of emergency last October. They held several rallies to counter Sandinista celebrations and vociferously chanted anti-government slogans. Nonetheless, US Embassy reporting indicates the demonstrations were plagued by poor coordination and sparked little public reaction. Several leaders of the opposition political parties also recently traveled to Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia to improve their international image and publicize a document, signed by six of the parties last February, which outlined measures to	
achieve an end to the fighting in Nicaragua.	25 X 1
For its part, the regime launched a major propaganda effort to drum up popular support for the new constitution. The first of almost 80 town meetings—which the Sandinistas tout as evidence of their commitment to political pluralism—was held in Managua with heavy media coverage. According to the US Embassy, questions and comments were preprogrammed, and opposition participation was severely limited.	25 X 1
On the economic front, the Sandinistas continued to squeeze the private sector. The confiscation of 52,000 acres of farmland, much of it belonging to a prominent business leader and regime critic, was the first under a revised land reform law enacted earlier this year. Meanwhile, small independent merchants were hit by increases in the import tax of up to 14 times the previous rate. According to US Embassy officials, the increase probably will put many merchants out of business and accelerate the replacement of Western consumer goods by Soviet Bloc imports.	· 25X1
EL SALVADOR	
The prospect of formal talks between the government and rebel leaders—last held in late 1984—was raised when Salvadoran Government officials and guerrilla political representatives met in Lima on 26 April to discuss renewing dialogue. The peace talks	
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	25X1
apparently took place at the <u>initiative of rebel political leaders and were facilitated by</u> Peruvian President Garcia.	
rebel spokesmen said their principal reason for meeting with	25X1
We believe the political representatives hope to use the talks to regain influence in the insurgency by appearing as a necessary mediator between	25X1 25X1
the government and guerrilla hardliners.	25 X 1
Meanwhile, the Salvadoran military maintained the offensive by launching two major sweeps in Morazan and Usulutan Departments in addition to the ongoing Phoenix operation in central El Salvador.	25 X 1
designed to last for at least several weeks in an attempt to shut down long-occupied rebel	
supply shortages and low morale caused by the constant government pressure and capture of materiel. The armed forces' most significant losses in May were three aircraft that crashed because of bad weather and mechanical problems. Casualties included eight	25X1
experienced pilots and an entire class29 menof aircraft mechanics.	25X1
Civilian authorities, probably bowing to military pressure and undermining recent improvements in the judicial process, turned over to the armed forces the investigation of military personnel involved in a kidnaping for profit ring uncovered in April. The military claimed jurisdiction by an unprecedented application of a special legal provision assigning it the responsibility for handling subversion and terrorism cases—to include criminal activity such as kidnaping. Civilian investigators had been making progress in the case, according to the US Embassy, although the accused leader of the ring—Lt. Col. Staben—was released for	
"lack of evidence." Civilian and military	25X1
personnelfearful of exposure in these and other crimesmay have been responsible for	25 X 1
the deaths, and their influence could further limit the scope of the investigation.	25 X 1
Meanwhile, leftist efforts to exploit working class discontent with the government's austerity program received several setbacks in late April and May. According to the US Embassy, the insurgent-backed National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) called a general strike on 24 April which affected only a few private businesses and public	
institutions and failed to gain private sector support. Despite a year of aggressive organizing, the annual May Day march produced only 10,000-12,000 UNTS supporters—roughly the same number that took part last May.	25 X 1
disputes between UNTS hardliners and moderates were partly responsible for the poor showings. the UNTS will be unable to initiate any significant actions in the near-term because of ideological differences, lack of cohesive leadership, and insufficient funds. UNTS leaders reportedly were in Mexico and	25 X 1 25 X 1
Europe in mid-May trying to raise money.	25 X 1
HONDURAS	
Honduran affairs were dominated last month by President Azcona's efforts to maximize the political gains of his visit to Washington, which started 26 May. Apparently to meet conditions on US aid, Azcona at mid-month announced an ambitious economic program	
6	
	25 X 1

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augmenting \$240 million	a's commercial creditors. Comm n in revolving trade credits if in earages, which now exceed \$110	terest payments did not be:	yılı ayallı at
each month the morate	prium lasts.	, million, will grow by too .	
	PANAMA		
Spurred by the mopposition in May.	ilitary, the government stepped		e
opposition in may.			a
newspaper, La Prensa,	mentator critical of the military, and indicted another journalist fand. In addition, the US Embas	for reportedly slandering a listy reports a gang of youth	pposition member of sacting
for the militarydemo the Christian Democrat	nstrated in front of La Prensa's tic Party, while the progovernme leadership. Opposition leaders	offices and vandalized the cent press mounted a fierce speculate that closing La_P	campaign in rensa will
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	SIGNIFICANT NICARAGUAN POLITICAL EVENTS	
1 May	Internal political opposition, labor unions, and Church leaders hold May Day activities and speak out against Sandinista regime.	25X1 25X1
16 May	Insurgent commander Eden Pastora and group of supporters seek political asylum in Costa Rica. Pastora withdraws all of ARDE's men, arms and equipment from Nicaragua.	25 X 1
16-18 May	Core ThreeHonduras, El Salvador and Costa Ricapresent new proposals on arms levels and international maneuvers for Contadora draft treaty.	25 X 1
24 May	Central American Presidential Summit held at Equipulas, Guatemala. President Ortega presents list of weapons that Nicaragua will consider negotiating as part of Contadora arms	20/(1
	level agreement.	25 X 1

	25X1
NICARAGUAN HUMAN RIGHTS CHRONOLOGY	
Sandinista accusations of human rights violations by the insurgents remained relatively stable during May. The insurgent kidnaping of eight German internationalists near the Honduran border became a focal point for Sandinista allegations against the insurgents. an increase in Sandinista human rights	25 X 1
violations, also along the Honduran border. the regime's campaign to thwart support for the insurgents along the east coast last year	25 X 1
resulted in a surge of abuses at that time.	25X1
Insurgent Human Rights Record	
	25 X 1
3 May	
one of the main rebel forces has adopted a policy of leniency toward government prisoners and the integration of deserters into their	25 X 1
forces in order to maintain popular support.	25 X 1
According to the US Embassy in Managua, the proregime press reports insurgents attacked an agricultural cooperative at Quibuto killing one person, kidnaping six and burning six houses.	25X1
6 May	
The United Nicaraguan Opposition/KISAN sponsored a three-day seminar on human rights in Costa Rica in early April,	25X1
	25 X 1
8 May	
Nicaragua and kidnaped three civilians. insurgents burned a health center in northwest	25 X 1 25 X 1
9 May	
The US Embassy in Managua reported that a private farmer in Chontales indicated that at least one GON civilian official was killed in an ambush north of Juigalpa. The official was	05.74
reportedly enroute to confiscate a private farm.	25X1
Three civilians were killed by insurgents in two separate incidents in central Zelaya Department, according to the proregime press.	25X1
10 May	
11	
	25 X 1

			25X1
receipt of a letter from the M	bassy in Tegucigalpa, a US Congression ennonite Central Committee charging in to their forces of Nicaraguan Mennonite uras.	surgent forces with	25 X 1
12 May			20,71
•	ported six people including a child were	killed in insurgent	
attacks near Nueva Guinea.			25 X 1
16 May			
According to the US Enthree civilians were killed and Nueva Guinea.	nbassy in Managua, the Nicaraguan Defe I and six children were wounded during	nse Ministry reported an insurgent attack in	25X1
			25/1
17 May	Cathle	mant Ministry truck hit	
According to the proreg an anti-insurgent land mine	gime press, a Housing and Human Settle and was then attacked by insurgents wh	o killed five people.	25X1
			· 25X1
on a housing construction protested the kidnaning by h	ported that insurgents kidnapped eight voject near Nueva Guinea. Other German olding the German Embassy in Managua es of insurgent forces to secure the rele	n internationalists while West Germany	25X1 25X1
18 May			
The proregime press re	ported that the FDN kidnaped 20 civiliar	ns near Bluefields.	25X1
19 May			25X1
13 May			25 X 1
			20/(1
20 May .			
			25 X 1
24 May			
land mine near the Hondura	ng one Spanish internationalist were killen border. The proregime press identified accused insurgents of the incident.	ed when their truck hit a d the mine as of	25 X 1
·	12		
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According to the proregime press, insurgents kidnaped 68 Miskito Indians and killed others near the southeast coast of Nicaragua. Meanwhile, the same source reported GON coasses in organizing the coast including the first meeting of regional leaders to be held June. Sandinista Human Rights Record May UNO/FDN claimed. UNO/FDN claimed. UNO/FDN claimed. Interest Nicaragua in late April, burning their homes and killing domestic mals. One civilian was killed when he refused to be taken and another civilian was souted by a Sandinista state security firing squad. According to western press reports, Monsignor Carballo, a high level Nicaraguan tholic Church official charged the Sandinista regime with increasing repression against the urch and human rights violations including beatings of church leaders, banning church idia, forcibly resettling Miskito Indians, and curbing workers' rights to strike. In mid-April, crops were burned by Sandinistas in Jinotega Department, and 11 local rillians were imprisoned for refusing to take up arms for the Sandinistas; 2 May Asseven—man Nicaraguan patrol captured a seven—man Nicaraguan patrol captured a conduran couple in late April, interrogated them, and then robbed them. The same day, souther patrol took two civilians for interrogation and also robbed them May May		•			25
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Sandinista Human Rights Record May UNO/FDN claimed. Ithat EPS forces kidnaped 36 miles in northwest Nicaragua in late April, burning their homes and killing domestic mais. One civilian was killed when he refused to be taken and another civilian was secured by a Sandinista state security firing squad. May According to western press reports, Monsignor Carballo, a high level Nicaraguan tholic Church official charged the Sandinista regime with increasing repression against the urch and human rights violations including beatings of church leaders, banning church adia, forcibly resettling Miskito Indians, and curbing workers' rights to strike. In mid-April, crops were burned by Sandinistas in Jinotega Department, and 11 local milians were imprisoned for refusing to take up arms for the Sandinistas 2 May May a seven-man Nicaraguan patrol captured a conduran couple in late April, interrogated them, and then robbed them. The same day, cother patrol took two civilians for interrogation and also robbed them. April April April Interrogated April Apri	athers near the souther	st coast of Nicaragua	a. Meanwhile, the sa	me source reported GON	
Sandinista Human Rights Record May UNO/FDN claimed.	ccesses in organizing the	e coast including the	first meeting of regi	onal leaders to be neid	24
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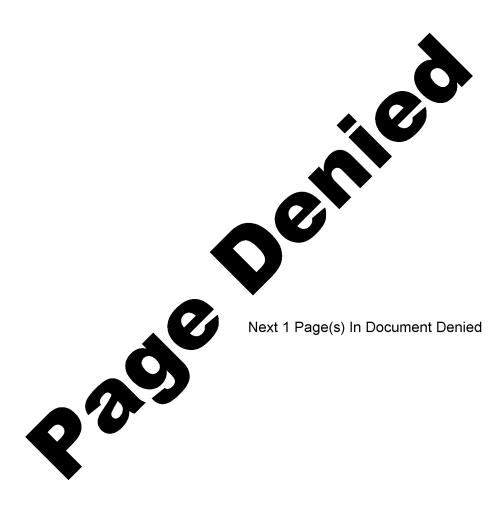
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According to a defector, Nicaraguan prisoners are placed in ategories to determine their treatment, which ranges from physical and psychological	25)
orture to mere questioning and pressure to cease opposition to the regime. 70 percent of those physically tortured died.	25
Мау	25 X 1
President Ortega in a <u>Der Spiegal</u> interview claimed the total number of prisoners held the GON is 3,500 and the proregime press—with GON censorship approval—later	
ported the official government figure is 7,591.	2
the EPS, after taking a town in northern Nicaragua, sent informants to	25 25
ncourage people to return home from the mountains promising the EPS would not take appressive measures against them. Upon returning to their homes, the people were arrested and informers singled out insurgent supporters some of whom have since been found dead.	20
III III III III III III III III III II	25
) May	
small farmers, fisherman, and hunters have abandoned their land because the GON is systematically denying them the ght to grow their own crops, prohibiting fishing, and banning the purchase of small caliber	2
mmunition used for hunting Sandinista soldiers also have put on ivilian clothes and indiscriminately murdered residents at night, afterwards accusing	2
surgents of the violations.	2
A Nicaraguan refugee reported that religious personnel in Nicaragua are eing persecuted and GON informants present at religious services monitor the services, eporting any anti-regime statements.	25 2
3 May	۷
An official Costa Rican press service reported a Protestant minister in southern Zelaya indicated he left Nicaragua in early 1986 because Sandinista troops had killed numerous hristians, accusing them of being insurgents. He had also personally seen six churches acked and burned in 1985.	2
A Nicaraguan farmer reported his brother and another campesino had been beheaded	
y Sandinista soldiers in June 1985, according to a Costa Rican press service.	2
	225
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a Nicaraguan farmer who sought refuge in	20
a Nicaraguan farmer who sought refuge in costa Rica in March 1985 reported the EPS massacred 18 farmers in Zelaya in October 1985.	25) 25)
a Nicaraguan farmer who sought refuge in Costa Rica in March 1985 reported the EPS massacred 18 farmers in Zelaya in October 1985.	

	25 X 1
	25/1
15 May	
According to a Nicaraguan refugee his wife and two children and	25 X 1
another farmer were killed in his home by EPS troops in April 1984 in the department of	20/1
Zelaya. All appeared to be shot at close range.	25 X 1
16 May	
According to the US Embassy in Managua, some 30 men possibly being held as	
prisoners in May 1985 were executed by the Sandinistas in Bluefields and presented by the	
GON as insurgents.	25 X 1
According to a Nicaraguan refugee EPS soldiers on a counterinsurgency	OEV4
	25 X 1
mission raided his farm in June 1984, interrogated him on insurgent activity and attempted to poison him. A few days later, his son was robbed and murdered by seven Sandinista	
soldiers.	0574
soldiers.	25 X 1

		25 X 1		
	NICARAGUAN TRAVELS/VISITS			
28 April	Leaders of opposition political parties visit Venezuela, Colombia and Panama to publicize six-point plan to end fighting in Nicaragua.	25 X 1		
3 May	Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco visits Argentina, Venezuela,	258		
	and Peru to drum up support for Nicaragua in Contadora process.	25X1		
	Minister of Interior Borge visits Cuba,	25X1 25X1		
4 May	Vice President Ramirez visits Guatemala to initial a draft version of the declaration of Esquipulas.	25X1		
	Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman travels to Managua for consultations, possibly with President Ortega.	25 X 1		
5 May		25 X 1 25 X 1		
10 May	Swedish Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Schori visits Managua for meetings with President Ortega, Minister of Interior Borge, civic opposition leaders and Catholic Church officials.			
10-11 May	West German Social Democratic Party leader Wischnewski visits Nicaragua for meetings with Sandinista and opposition leaders.			
11 May	High-ranking Soviet delegation headed by Deputy Chairman of Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Arnold Tyuytel meets with President Ortega, Vice President Ramirez, and Foreign Minister D'Escoto in Managua following attendance at Costa Rican			
12 May	inaugural ceremonies. East German delegation headed by Vice Minister of Foreign Relations Nuegebauer arrives in Managua for meetings with President Ortega and Vice Foreign Minister Talavera to discuss cooperation between the GDR and Nicaragua.			
14 May		25X1 25X1		
21 May	Deputy Secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison Ali Hudayri meets in Managua with President Ortega and Foreign Minister D'Escoto.	25X		
		25X1		

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		25 X 1
24-25 May	President Ortega attends Central American Presidential Summit at Esquipulas, Guatemala.	25 X 1
26 May	Vice President Ramirez heads Nicaraguan delegation on European tour of Spain, France, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, and the EEC.	25 X 1

	COMING EVENTS IN	CENTRAL AMERICA	A DURING JUNE		
6 June	Deadline for signature of a regional peace agreement.				
10 June	Governments of Honduras and El Salvador scheduled to take their border dispute case to the International Court of Justice.				
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